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Is Atomic Power Safe?

by Charles M. Herzfeld

SICK MAN OF EUROPE?

France: Inertia or Stability

by Thomas Molnar

THE PLIGHT OF JUDAISM

by Arthur A. Cohen

First in a Series on
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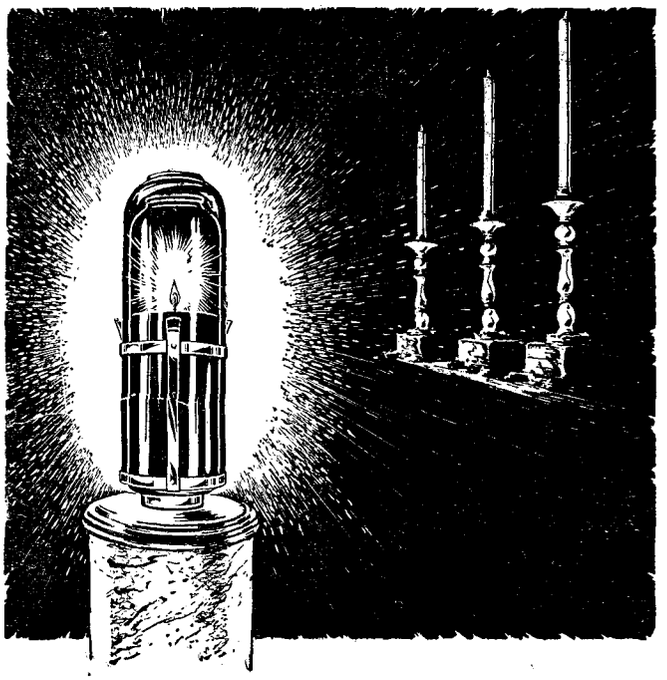

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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-THIRD YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

BATTLE OF THE BUDGET

THE EDITORS of this magazine have occasionally been charged by some readers with being "too hard on Mr. Eisenhower." Critical judgment is part of the function of a journal of opinion such as this, and an important part, and we have indeed been critical of the President on many points. We thought his statements on foreign policy during the 1952 campaign, for example, made perilous concessions to the isolationist forces inside the GOP. Later we took particular exception to his general position at Geneva, where we thought his statements showed insufficient grasp of the real nature of the Communist threat. More recently, we have often expressed our doubts about the Administration's policy—or lack of one—in the Middle East.

All this, we suppose, makes us critics of the Administration, although we try to make our criticism reasoned and constructive. But whatever our doubts on certain specific Eisenhower policies—and some of these are large ones—we think the general outline of the Administration's foreign policy must be supported. And this is precisely what is in serious danger today, for support of Mr. Eisenhower's program must include support of his budget.

The central facts about Mr. Eisenhower's budget are clear enough. They do not justify the near-hysteria that characterizes most current discussions on the subject. The proposed budget amounts to a little less than seventy-two billion dollars. Everyone from the President down seems to agree that two billion can be lopped off safely enough, leaving a total of about seventy billion. This is not a low budget—who could expect such a thing in view of the international situation?—but it is not excessively high either, in view of our expanding economy, the growth of our population and the steady rise in wages and profits after taxes. Nobody loves taxes, but the fact remains that last month personal income in this country reached a new record, and taxes represent a smaller proportion of the national income today than they did in 1954.

Forty-five billion dollars of the proposed budget represents spending for national defense. Five billion more must go to meet the charges for veterans' care, as provided by law. The fixed charges on the national debt—almost entirely the heritage of World Wars I and II—add up to seven billion more. Thus fifty-seven billion dollars of Mr. Eisenhower's budget represent payments on wars in the past and insurance payments against war in the future.

When the budget-cutters go to work, they never find it really easy to cut domestic, non-military spending, most of which represents a response to obvious needs. For major cuts, then, the budget-slashers have already had to turn to items relating to national security. They began with foreign aid, which is politically most vulnerable, but they have not stopped there. At this writing, the report is that a House appropriations subcommittee has already cut two and one-half billion dollars out of the military budget—despite a solemn warning by Secretary of Defense Wilson that it has already been cut to the "peril point."

IS MR. WILSON correct? We think he is. In fact, our criticisms of him have always been based on the conviction that he and his associates have already slashed the military budget too deeply, so that the United States is today poorly prepared to deal with the "brush fire," small-scale wars that may arise at any time.

The economizers, we think, are not paying enough attention to Mr. Wilson's real problems.

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In 1950 a fighter plane cost three hundred thousand dollars; today it costs one and one-half million. A B-36 bomber—now outmoded—cost three and one-half million dollars; today a comparable B-52 jet bomber costs six million.

What of foreign aid? Three-quarters of all the money spent on foreign aid goes to support our huge network of military alliances—an expenditure that brings valuable returns to the United States. Such spending helps to arm and maintain ground forces overseas that are five times as large as our own. It keeps in operation twice as many combat naval vessels as we possess, and an equal number of planes. Considered purely in economic terms, it is cheaper for us to spend money for such aid overseas than it would be to raise our own strength to the level that would be necessary if these forces did not exist.

The remaining one-quarter of foreign aid spending is at least as valuable as the military supports. Our own criticism of this section of the budget is not that it is too large, but that it is not large enough for the task that needs to be done. Aside from everything else, the creation of economic strength in the underdeveloped nations is essential if they are not to become victims of Communist aggression, internal or external.

The value of such aid has been demonstrated and should be beyond question. Marshall Plan aid frustrated the Communist drive for Western Europe. United States aid stopped the Soviet threat to Greece and Turkey. Most recently, American aid was a central factor in saving Viet Nam from the Communist onslaught—a fact eloquently testified to by Prime Minister Ngo Dinh Diem on his recent visit to the United States.

How is it possible to say that U.S. funds spent on such foreign aid is "money down the drain"? Suppose for a moment that aid to Viet Nam had been blocked and the nation overrun by the Communists, and imagine that it was later established that a subversive in high office has been responsible for the failure of Viet Nam to receive aid. The nation would be in a furor—and rightly so. Yet all over the country—in Congress and out of it—patriotic but shortsighted men are now proposing that we cut off the aid that could save other countries like Viet Nam in the future.

Or consider the question of funds for the United States Information Agency. Again imagine the national reaction if a Communist saboteur were to succeed in silencing forty per cent of the programs on the Voice of America, which presents the American story overseas. Yet a House and a Senate subcommittee have agreed to cut the Agency's budget by almost forty per cent. And typically enough, Mr. Eisenhower's Republican leaders in the Senate, who should be fighting for his budget, are encouraging the "economizers" and have heaped praise on the subcommittee headed by Senator Lyndon Johnson (Dem.) which did the cutting.

All these cuts are being made, of course, in the name of economy, with an eye to tax cuts next year. But, despite all the outcry, the savings possible for the individual taxpayer are minimal, as David Lawrence has pointed out. The deepest cut in the budget anyone has dared to suggest is six and one-half billion dollars. This would average out to a saving of seventy-eight dollars a year for every taxpayer. A smaller, more frequently mentioned and more likely cut in the budget would come to three billion dollars, for a tax saving of less than forty dollars.

Are the citizens of this country so interested in saving this sum next year that they will take what Mr. Eisenhower solemnly warned is a "gamble with the safety of our country" in order to get it? We do not know the answer to this question. We do know that we cannot see the slightest justification for taking such a gamble.

The armed strength of the Soviet Union and its satellites is not declining. Even without counting the Chinese Communists, the Soviets now have the world's largest army. They have atomic weapons, rockets and missiles—in an era when one missile will soon be able to carry a destructive load almost equal to all the TNT dropped by Allied bombers over Germany in all of World War II. They have a huge fleet of long-range submarines, many of them presumably fitted for missile-launching. They have a highly competent force of scientists and technicians, and they are perpetually engaged in research and experiment. And although Communist tactics change from time to time, nothing has happened to indicate that the Soviet Union has

NEXT WEEK

FINBAR SYNNOTT writes about basic characteristics of African nationalism.

"It is something that does not come from what one African called the 'somber white lords of the Kremlin.' It is something that is growing out of African feeling and mystique and the history of Africa as the stamping ground of many nations. It is being used by practical, cool-headed politicians."

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changed its basic character. For the United States to start cutting back now would be sheer folly.

For all these reasons, we think that those legislators who have been slashing away at Mr. Eisenhower's budget are behaving dangerously and irresponsibly. Whether their conduct will lead to short-term political popularity or not, we do not pretend to know. We do think they are risking the condemnation of history, and we salute instead those Representatives and Senators who have refused to be stampeded by the cry of economy. In particular, we cite the example of the forty-two liberal Democratic Congressmen who recently pledged their support to Mr. Eisenhower against the "reckless economy drive which constitutes a threat to our national defense and to the general welfare of the United States." Like the editors of this magazine, these liberal Democrats have often been critical of the President, most recently for the slowness with which he came to the defense of his own budget. But they support him on what is essential, and Mr. Eisenhower obviously has far less to fear from such critics than from many who are called his friends.

END OF A CHAPTER

BRITAIN'S DECISION to start sending ships through the Suez Canal on terms dictated by Colonel Nasser constitutes a milestone in the protracted Middle East crisis. Such humiliating terms represent the bitter fruits of the ill-conceived Franco-British adventure of a few months ago. And one of their most galling elements is that no guarantees on Egypt's part are involved; Nasser can refuse future access to the Canal at his discretion or his pleasure.

Only two maritime nations now do not send their vessels through this strategic waterway. France is conducting a one-nation boycott and accusing Egypt before the United Nations, partly out of protest over Nasser's Algerian policy. Little is expected to come out of air-beating gestures such as these. Israel is still barred from sending its vessels through, on the grounds that Egypt and Israel continue to be at war—that the former can bar these ships as a legitimate act of self-defense as provided for in the 1888 Constantinople Convention and subsequently, in a general way, in the UN Charter. France may eventually relent and seek some sort of permissive agreement, but Israel has no really practicable way of obtaining an access which was demanded of Egypt by the Security Council as far back as 1951. Its reiterated protests may serve rather to discourage Nasser from attempting to seal off the Gulf of Aqaba.

But Colonel Nasser has not emerged triumphantly from the Suez crisis all unscathed. The coolness of the Three Kings (of Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Iraq) has greatly cut into his leadership in the Arab world. He has also become increasingly dissatisfied with the Soviet Union, whose threats sealed the doom of the Franco-British adventure. Russian assistance has fallen far short of the scale promised by the Kremlin, and at the same time Nasser is becoming increasingly fearful of becoming a tool of Soviet policy.

If anything, Egypt's economic plight is more desperate than ever. While it may be true that ten years hence Europe's oil requirements will tax to capacity the Canal, super-tankers that go round the Cape of Good Hope and major new pipelines, a certain amount of by-passing of the Canal will be possible for several years. Within limits a certain leverage for the Canal-users is possible.

In other words, the Nasser victory hardly closes the door to all further negotiations. It is still possible to angle for better rates and methods of payment for users of the Canal, together with some sort of guarantee that the waterway will be kept open and in good repair. That is one reason for the private negotiations with Egypt now being carried on by both Britain and the United States. Suez control will continue to be Egyptian, as it has been now these many harried months, but some Egyptian concessions on a *quid pro quo* basis now appear quite possible. Nasser's personal star has fallen from its apogee.

CITIES' PLIGHT

THERE IS NO denying that many of our American cities were built up and spread out in various directions according to no predetermined plan. The results of such haphazard development are today especially obvious. Whole districts of once-decent houses and apartments have been allowed to become slum areas, with all the attendant evils. Downtown sections are choked by increasing traffic to the point of strangulation. What slum clearance and rebuilding have been completed in the past quarter-century have for the most part appeared to attack such difficulties piecemeal.

Pennsylvania's Senator Joseph Clark recently

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suggested to the centennial convention of the American Institute of Architects that a new department of the federal government be created to attack this major social problem on a national scale. Obviously, any such extension of federal powers and activities would require the most exacting preliminary scrutiny, and if such a program were to be successfully carried through, regardless of the source of the funds needed, local initiative and local responsibility would have to be paramount in any over-all municipal program. Yet we do need a new approach to the problem, and the term "planning," need not inevitably imply that Washington will take everything in hand.

POINT FOUR FOR AMERICANS

IT MUST have shocked some readers when they saw in the New York *Times* that Senator James E. Murray (Dem.) of Montana has introduced a Congressional resolution to extend Point Four aid to American Indians. We are familiar enough with the Point Four program as the plan which provides United States funds and technical assistance to help needy peoples to help themselves, in underdeveloped, faraway lands. But Point Four for people here at home seems, at first, incredible.

After the shock should come a sense of shame, first, that any Americans should be in such want at all, and second, that they should only now be considered for the kind of help we have been giving for so long to people halfway around the world. As was observed by Dr. Edward Dozier of the Association of American Indian Affairs, we must "adopt an Indian policy reconcilable with our country's world role."

Charity does begin at home. It musn't end there, but it is certainly anomalous for Americans to take up responsibilities abroad and ignore the ones on their doorstep. The Indians are not the only Americans whose need we overlook, but perhaps their situation will dramatize the wider one. We hope the shame and irony of the Indian's plight will spur Congress to early action on Senator Murray's proposal, and will remind us all of the obligations we have, in justice as well as charity, to all other Americans in need.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

IN A UNANIMOUS decision, the New York State Court of Appeals has reversed the findings of two lower courts and ruled in favor of the New York *Post* in its demand for a transcript of a court document. Back in 1955, the *Post* tried to obtain a copy of Kings County Judge Leibowitz's charge to the jury in a manslaughter case. The case involved a rookie patrolman who had shot and killed a fifteen year-old boy, who, it was alleged, ran from a disturbance and ignored the patrolman's orders to stop. The policeman was acquitted after only minutes of deliberation by the jury, and the *Post* requested a copy of Judge Leibowitz's charge to the jury. The request was denied, and the denial upheld in the Appellate and Supreme Courts.

Now, in a historic decision, the state's highest court has ruled for the newspaper. The *Post* was supported in its action by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the New York *Daily News,* and the New York *Herald Tribune,* and the decision in its favor has been widely hailed as a victory for freedom of the press. To the many expressions of satisfaction from newspaper editors, lawyers and civil liberties groups, we add our own.

In the words of the court, "The function of publicity, especially in the form of newspaper reporting and comment, as 'an effective restraint on possible abuse of judicial power' is, indeed, one of the fundamental safeguards of a free society."

The *Post* is a liberal newspaper that takes up causes, and sometimes in its ardor it causes embarrassment and difficulty for those whose words and actions it sees as opposed to its own principles. Some of the crusades it leads may not be of the sort we are tempted to join, but it is right and good that the *Post* be free to crusade as it will. We cannot pretend to know what was in Judge Leibowitz's mind, in 1955, when he withheld his charge to the jury—he based his action on a legal principle—but his charge was important in a case that had become a local *cause célèbre,* at least in the pages of the *Post.* And the result of his action was to prevent public discussion, and questioning, of this aspect of the trial.

Now, in this New York decision, all these circumstances have been swept away, and the principle of freedom of the press, refined and made explicit, has been given further legal guarantee. To deny this freedom, or any civil liberty—even in special cases, in order to avoid controversy, to save embarrassment, even when it might be believed in the public interest to do so—is to threaten the destruction of these liberties. So believed the framers of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and their belief has been reiterated by the New York Court of Appeals.

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Is Atomic Power Safe?

"THE PROBLEMS RAISED BY 'PEACEFUL' ATOMIC ENERGY ARE IMMENSE AND GRAVE"

CHARLES M. HERZFELD

WHEN THOSE who think about the atomic age grow weary of worrying about H-bombs, radiation and fallout, they often turn for relief to happier thoughts of the "peaceful" uses of atomic energy for power and medical purposes. Happier thoughts they are indeed, but the problems raised by "peaceful" atomic energy are immense and grave—ranging from the dangers of radiation to the possibility of contamination of the seas. All available evidence shows, however, that with the increasing pressures of a growing world population on decreasing natural resources, there is literally nowhere else to turn.

The earth's resources of fuels for industrial and other power are obviously limited, but the pertinent problem is whether there will be enough fuel for a hundred, a thousand or a million years. If a hundred years, then considerable thought and effort must be given now to fuel conservation and power austerity. If a million years, then the problem would not have to be faced for generations. Proven resources of oil and coal "increase" as new deposits are discovered, so it is difficult to give a realistic estimate of how long these reserves will last. It is, however, reasonably certain that this time span will be measured in hundreds rather than thousands of years. Hydroelectric power helps, and promises to last a long time, but it is not enough. The capture of energy from sunlight may have some limited potentialities, but this source cannot provide the massive amounts of power which are required by modern heavy industry.

The only long-range escape from this *cul de sac* is afforded by atomic (more correctly called nuclear) energy sources. The first approach possible in the utilization of atomic energy is through the fission of uranium, plutonium and other heavy elements in large reactors. Steam, heated by the energy liberated by fission, drives turbines, which in turn drive electric generators, producing electric power. Such systems are now under active development in the United States, Great Britain and Russia. The most concentrated effort is carried on in England, where the expectation is that fifty per cent of industrial power will come from fission reactors by 1975.

The second approach is through fission of light elements, hydrogen and others. This approach is still not proven possible, and may in fact not be. Work on this problem is going on in a number of countries, including the United States. Recently the Atomic Energy Commission announced considerable progress at its Princeton project. The basic problems include raising the temperature of light elements high enough (to millions of degrees) so that fusion of their nuclei can take place, and thereafter containing these extremely hot gases in a limited volume. A possible solution to the first problem is an electric arc carrying very high current to generate enough heat in its center to start fusion. The container problem may be solved by applying very strong magnetic fields which would trap the particles in spiral paths. Converting the energy of these particles into such useful energy as ordinary electricity remains a major problem.

If workable, fusion would have several great advantages over fission. It might be more efficient and would produce much less dangerous radiation, in particular no radioactive wastes. Furthermore, the world resources of light elements are vastly greater than those required in fission. For present practical purposes, however, atomic energy is confined to fission power.

Power from fission, now possible, and in the future economical, is also hazardous. The reactor and its machinery are highly radioactive and expose the operators to some radiation above the normal background. The fuel elements and the waste products are similarly highly radioactive. Finally, serious damage to or failure of the reactor may endanger the neighboring community.

ALL OF US are constantly exposed to radioactivity. Some may come from luminous watch dials, some from TV tubes, some from medical X-rays. The bulk, however, comes from cosmic rays. The origin and nature of these rays are by no means fully understood, and their study is one of the liveliest fields of physics. The

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intensity of these rays increases with altitude, and has seasonal and daily changes. Thus, persons living in a village in the Andes are exposed to much more radiation than the author, living near the city of Washington.

Radiation has many effects on animals and man, almost all of them bad. These fall into two broad categories—genetic and non-genetic. The genetic effects are mutations produced in the genes and passed from generation to generation in the genes of the parents. Almost all mutations are detrimental. Some of them cause specific changes such as stunted growth, imbecility, sterility; others cause a sort of general malaise whose chief effect is an appreciable lowering of the life expectancy of the individual. Little is known about the genetic effects of radiation on animals, though much research is going on in this field. All too little is known about genetic effects in *man*—direct experiments are not attempted (the Nazis might have experimented, had they wanted to know), and observations of these effects in ordinary life are difficult, yielding results only slowly. This ignorance of the genetic effects on man makes *all* present estimates of safe limits of exposure to radiation little more than educated guesses.

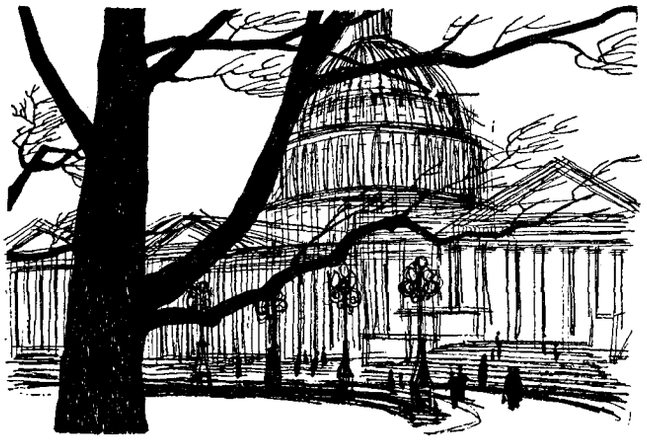
Non-genetic effects are many. Typical are the production of bone cancer and leukemia, of cataracts, and such general effects as loss of hair. Ever since early investigators of radioactivity and X-rays some sixty years ago began to suffer from strange diseases, these effects have received considerable attention. Since the appearance of atomic industries, such studies have been intensified, so that by now a well established field of radiation medicine exists. Adequate standards exist for safe doses of radiations of various types, and the short range health problem posed by these non-genetic effects is probably very near solution.

The genetic problem of atomic energy is quite different from that of weapons tests and also less serious, chiefly because of the different number of people affected. A ten per cent increase in exposure to radiation of *all* inhabitants of the United States, or any large area of it, caused by weapons tests, would have a much more serious genetic effect on the country than a fifty per cent increase in exposure of ten thousand individuals engaged in atomic energy work. The point here is that the lower fertility (for example) of ten thousand people who have been exposed to extra radiation will have a relatively minor effect on later generations if these ten thousand intermarry with the rest of the population. If all the population is exposed, however, the effects cannot be reduced in any way.

THE RADIATION effects of nuclear reactors can be kept to a safe limit, and what is very significant, only comparatively few persons are exposed to any increased dosages. The disposal of waste products, however, is another matter. Here one will have to deal with a steady accumulation of tons of highly radioactive materials. These cannot be stored among populations indefinitely. The notorious strontium 90 which collects in bones, and cesium 129 which collects in the gonads, are now produced mainly by fallout from bomb tests. These and other isotopes may be present in the waste products of atomic power and will certainly contribute to its hazards. A promising disposal scheme is that of forming the wastes into bricklike chunks which would be dumped into the very deep valleys of the ocean floor. To prove this scheme feasible, the rate at which water from these deep valleys mixes with the rest of the ocean must be determined. For success, this rate must be slow enough so that most of the radioactivity has decayed away by the time the mixing becomes appreciable. Research in geophysics is required and must be carried out on an international scale, another example of the urgent need for international cooperation in atomic matters.

To find out about radiation dangers produced if a reactor is damaged or "blows up," the AEC has deliberately blown up a reactor by letting it produce so much power that it destroyed itself. The amount of radioactivity spread by this "accident" was not very great. The immediate surroundings of the reactor were dangerous, but little fallout showed up farther away. Reactor design can do much to minimize this danger.

It is probably accurate to say that large numbers of power reactors can be operated without exposing the population at large to increased radiation, provided the safe disposal of wastes can be accomplished. The reactor—if it is damaged or "runs away"—is probably no more dangerous than a large chemical plant producing chlorine or some other poisonous material. To protect the workers and technicians in such installations from radiation hazards requires, first of all, that the installations be largely operated by remote control. Secondly, rigid safety measures must be enforced. Accidents, such as recently occurred in a plant in Texas



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using radioactive iridium pills, are the exception. Enforcing the very detailed safety standards requires, in this writer's opinion, extensive government control of atomic power plants.

The facts remain that employes of atomic energy installations are likely to receive more radiation than the population at large, and that this will have some slight but definite detrimental effects. Although the long-range effects are still uncertain, we should nevertheless be looking tentatively at some of the moral problems raised by atomic energy.

THERE EXISTS a potential power shortage, also the means of overcoming it (at least for a long time). A decrease in power consumption would lower standards of living, standards of health and general welfare. At the same time, it is clear that only a radical expansion of industry and of productive capacity will raise the underdeveloped regions of the world to an adequate level of living. The remedy (atomic energy) will affect adversely some of the future inhabitants of the earth. It seems to me that the principle of the double effect allows one to come to a conclusion such as this: The goal of continuing high standards of living of an industrial society and raising that of the underdeveloped regions is good (this would be disputed by only a few extremists). The good is achieved independently of the harm done; it does not follow from the harm, nor is the harm intended. The achieved good is greater or at least comparable to the harm done. This last conclusion is, of course, dependent on judgment and prudence. (If a large amount of harm were certainly done by atomic energy in industrial use, then the use would become immoral, because the last condition would not be fulfilled. It is here, also, that a conclusion about the morality of weapons testing must be found. To look at the good or the bad alone is useless, the two must be compared.)

Several writers have recently considered the morality of any avoidable exposure of humanity to radiation. Because the effects fall heavily on later generations, these writers have concluded that such exposure cannot be justified at all. I do not share this blanket rejection, but the subject is certainly wide open and requires serious study by moral theologians.

Professor Enrico Medi, head of the Vatican delegation to the Geneva Conference on atomic energy, has pointed out additional areas for study. It is necessary, he stated at the closing session there, "to examine the social and economic factors capable of assuring the rightful distribution of our new riches so that they might serve all peoples and regions with less wealth and material advantages." Emphasizing the essentially international character of atomic energy, he said it would also be necessary "to reach agreements so that the changes which the evolution of nuclear science might provoke would respect man's physical welfare and not injure the best foundations of his dignity." He then concluded rather hopefully that "to this end techniques must be governed by a common search for truth so that authentic peace, based upon love among men, is preserved."

In the realm of institutions and of policy, the problem is also complex. The AEC was organized when the military applications of atomic energy were the only important ones, though peaceful uses were envisioned. While military uses are still the major item in terms of money and work invested, the other applications, such as industrial power, will, we all hope, become more significant as time goes on. One consequence of the predominance of military applications is the tight security which surrounds much work on atomic energy, and, perhaps more important, the "hush hush" aura which has been created. In a free society at least some of the major policy decisions should be made under the influence of informed public opinion. Another consequence of past and present priorities is that most of the direction of the atomic energy work is in the hands of physicists, chemists and engineers. This is in itself not so bad, but it is fairly apparent that most physical scientists and engineers concentrate on safety with respect to the non-genetic effects of radiation, while they tend to be rather optimistic about the genetic effects. This is probably so because the former are easier to understand and are also the most immediate practical worry. It is fairly clear, however, that the real long-range danger resides in the genetic effects, about which so little is known.

Three practical steps could be taken now which would make a balanced approach to these problems more likely. First, wider study of the effects of radiation should be encouraged. Private institutions could make considerable contributions by supporting such research. More factual discussion of the problems in the press and journals of opinion would be helpful. What little there is nowadays is often straight polemic. Secondly, international cooperation (multi-lateral rather than bi-lateral) on many levels among countries using atomic energy or interested in its use is absolutely mandatory. Lack of some real cooperation on safety measures and standards will endanger all mankind eventually. But the most important immediate step I can envision would be the appointment of a renowned geneticist to the United States Atomic Energy Commission, in addition to the present scientists, engineers and administrators. In such a high and responsible position, a geneticist would have available all known facts about the problem, and would make his judgment and experience available in policy decisions. Such a make-up of the Commission would reflect the importance of atomic energy in and for society.

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The Plight of Judaism

In its challenge to Western civilization, Communism has encountered no opposition more formidable than religion, which has everywhere stood in its path. Communism has variously attempted to manipulate, to subjugate and, if possible, to destroy completely that faith which recognizes a Law and a Judge superior to the State. Endeavoring to claim the entire person, to evoke a total allegiance, it cannot flourish where its fundamental aims must be constantly questioned. Yet, after bearing the full weight of Communist pressure, religion still continues to exert itself behind the Iron Curtain.

This article is the first in a series which will discuss the conflict between Communism and the religious strength of Judaism, the Orthodox Church, the Protestant Churches and the Catholic Church.

THE EDITORS.

ARTHUR A. COHEN

JUDAISM IS for all intents and purposes suffocated and dying behind the Iron Curtain. This is not to say that the more than two million Jews who constitute the Jewish people in Eastern Europe have perished. If one countenances the observations of recent Jewish travelers and observers in Moscow, identification with Israel and the world Jewish community is intense, although unsophisticated and unrealistic after these many years without communication. But when one considers not the state of the Jewish people, but Judaism as a religion behind the Iron Curtain the report is considerably more dismal.

The Soviet war against Judaism began quite early in the history of Bolshevism. Writing in 1903, Lenin (for some reason a figure sympathetically viewed by many otherwise militant anti-Communists) observed: "The idea of a separate Jewish people . . . is reactionary in its political implications. . . . Everywhere in Europe the downfall of medievalism and the development of political freedom went hand in hand with the political emancipation of the Jews." It was only natural, Lenin insisted, that separatism of the Jew should vanish in the modern world. Commenting further Lenin added, "The Jewish question is this exactly: assimilation or separateness . . . The idea of Jewish nationality is in conflict with the interests of the Jewish proleteriat, for, directly or indirectly, it engenders in its ranks a mood hostile to assimilation, a 'ghetto' mood."

It is quite clear in the literature of Soviet opposition to Judaism and the Jewish people that Judaism, like Roman Catholicism, has been treated with considerably greater hostility than some Protestant sects, Islam, and Russian Orthodoxy. The reasons for this are not hard to find. Judaism, though represented in the Russian world by considerable numbers has not, since the days of Judaizers in fifteenth century Moscow and Kiev, legitimized contact with popular Russian life. For at least two centuries, forms of apocalyptic Protestantism have enjoyed considerable popular strength in Russia; Mohammedanism has been the religion of a regionalized, unified, and well-entrenched portion of the Soviet population; and Russian Orthodoxy, willy nilly, has been, in the days of the Czars as now in the days of the Supreme Soviet, a not so unwilling partner of national policy.

The Jew has always been an unfortunate *deraciné* —a victim of poverty, exclusion, pogrom and dispersion. He has also been fiercely Jewish, forming—whether in the movements of secular enlightenment and Zionism or in the rationalistic communities of classic Orthodoxy or the mystic conventicles of the Hasidim—both open and well-articulated communities. He has also had the misfortune of being passionately Russian as well as passionately Jewish. Although the attachment to Russia has not been an attachment to the normalized expression of Russian civic and national tradition, there is considerable affection for the people, the literature, and the common suffering of both communities. There is, for instance, considerably greater passion attendant on the identification of Russian Jews to Russian cultural and folk life than there is, for instance, of expatriated Polish or Slavic Jews. As such Judaism fell victim to Bolshevism much more easily. In the early days, even the religious communities were willing to trust the legal prohibition of anti-Semitism (although to this day informed students know of no case being based on the crime of anti-Semitism). It was felt that anything would have been an improvement over Czarist tyranny, and the promises were accepted on face-value.

Mr. Cohen is completing a book on Martin Buber. His *The Modern Jewish Mind* is scheduled for early publication by Harcourt, Brace.

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IT IS ARRANT nonsense, in the light of history now disclosed, for the present Soviet regime to give Stalin the sole responsibility for the destruction of Judaism in Russia and presumably in the satellite countries as well. There has recently been published in Paris *A Sixth of The World,* a Yiddish record of the history of Soviet repression of Judaism, written by a disciple of the famed Lubavitcher Rebbe, M. Sambatyon (a pseudonym with significant eschatological meaning). This book, of almost five thousand pages, does more to expose the grim and terrifying record of Soviet policy than any other disclosure or eye-witness observation.

It is well known that in the years subsequent to the revolution, the anti-religious campaign gained momentum. Synagogues were closed and educational institutions converted into civic centers. In accordance with the systole and diastole of Soviet conduct, the 1926 relaxation of policy which followed one campaign anticipated another. But for a short time the Jews began to hope again. Although it was felt that synagogues, then reopened, would be allowed to function, religious education was still forbidden and carried on subterraneously. Within a year the great reversal began. The Soviet campaign against Judaism was renewed in July, 1927 with the arrest of Rabbi Schneersohn, the Lubavitcher Rebbe, on the charge of counter-revolutionary activity. After unbelievable protest from the world Jewish community and the intercession of Gorky's wife and other Soviet leaders, the death sentence of Schneersohn was commuted to a prison term which was reduced by stages until he was finally granted an exit permit to leave Russia.

Coincidentally with the arrest of Rabbi Schneersohn, synagogues were closed; absence from work on the High Holidays and Sabbaths was made impossible; kosher meat was forbidden; all educational facilities were interdicted; the printing of the Bible and prayer book was prohibited. In 1929, in an effort to unify policy, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee issued a decree which had the further effect of prohibiting all religious gatherings other than in authorized and permitted places of worship—thereby destroying one indispensable feature of Jewish religious life, the gathering of a quorum for prayer in the house of a bridegroom, mourner, or new-born child. Religious education was prohibited and all forms of community self-assistance (such as medical aid societies or charity funds) were denied.

The only response to this activity was the development of clandestine religious organization. At the end of 1929, according to reports received in the United States, some 12,000 Jewish children were receiving instruction in underground religious schools and about 800 students were pursuing rabbinical studies. The underground maintained a rabbinical seminary and a teacher-training institute. Although rigorously suppressed wherever discovered, such institutions survived as late as 1936.

Neither the underground nor the individual Jew, secular, religious, Yiddishist, or Zionist, was spared by the purge that began in 1936. In Kiev, M. Sambatyon reports, there were several hundred synagogues before the Purge. At the height of the Purge only two remained there, and they were padlocked. M. Sambatyon preserves the pathetic pleas of the Jewish elders of Kiev to Stalin, Kalinin, and Yeshov: "We beg you, little father Stalin, have pity on us in our old age. Our chederim (schools for young children) and yeshivot (rabbinical academies) were closed—we were silent; our mikvot (places for ritual immersion) and kosher slaughter houses were closed—we remained silent; we have never complained, we are disciplined citizens. But the synagogue—that is our last comfort, for which we are prepared to die as our ancestors did for the Temple. . ." Needless to say, their pleas were of no avail.

NOW A NEW phase has opened. Two delegations of rabbis visited Russia recently and were given an official tour of Jewish places of worship. A new printing of the prayer book has been promised. (Although the first offset edition was fixed at 3,000 copies, which is not enough to supply even a fraction of that portion of Russia's 1,800,000 Jews still concerned). Citrons and lulavim (palm fronds) employed in the festival of Succoth were promised, but the turn in Soviet-Israel relations has interrupted the fulfillment of this promise. Although some promises have been renewed (however broken and unfulfilled) there is still no promise to restore religious education, the Yiddish press and publishing facilities, organs of community life and self-expression.

The record of the Russian satellites is of a piece with that of Russia herself. The Jews have never enjoyed more than legal toleration in the Polish and Slavic world, although pre-war Jewish life in Czechoslovakia and East Berlin was relatively free and well-integrated with the non-Jewish population. There is a long, bloody, and remorseless history of anti-Semitism

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in the Slavic world. It was not difficult for the Soviets to manipulate the dormant anti-Semitism of Poland, Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria. The general redefinition of post-war Soviet anti-Semitism was publicly proclaimed in the trial of Rudolf Slansky in 1951 and the demotion of Ana Pauker in 1952, accompanied as these were by the so-called "Doctor's Plot" of 1952.

More insidious than the factional war that was made manifest by these trials and demotions was the emergence of a campaign of propaganda once again linking the Jew with capitalism, counter-revolution, cosmopolitanism and "imperialistic Zionism." The policy was successful. What little power Eastern European Jewry had enjoyed in Communist ranks was broken and the Jewish community was again beyond the pale of popular consensus. It was inevitable—although too little reliable information is available here—that Judaism should suffer equally with "counter-revolutionary" Jews. For the trickle of exit visas for Jews desiring to emigrate to Israel stopped; in addition, all contact which the Jewish community had with the outside world was interrupted.

The life of Jews in the satellite world has perhaps improved as a consequence of the recent popular uprisings against Soviet domination in Poland and Hungary—but such improvement is provisional and contingent. What life survives, survives clandestinely, without toleration or sanction. It is perhaps easier now to get away with religious instruction in Hungary where the NKVD is not present in such strength, and where native secret police are a little more chary, for fear of reprisals, of antagonizing the population.

The situation is dismal and the prognosis is, I think, poor. Judaism thrives only where it can expose its community life as a public sacrament. Though, on occasion, it has endured for centuries underground it does not flourish under such harsh conditions. The present conditions for Judaism are hard, for more than two million Jews behind the Iron Curtain have just passed through a decade of war and genocide which decimated their numbers, and they now find themselves confronted with a new war of attrition. It is questionable whether Judaism will survive in Eastern Europe. It is at such moments that it is best to trust Providence.

SICK MAN OF EUROPE?

France: Inertia or Stability

THOMAS MOLNAR

THE LAST FIFTEEN years of Europe will be recorded in the annals of the future as one of the most turbulent periods in the history of that much-embattled continent. Ideologies produced in the laboratories of Western thought shook the foundations of the European structure, changed the traditional power-relationships among nations and classes, and, finally, caused the two halves of the continent to split and become appendages of the emerging super-empires. Thus, in more than one sense, Europe today lives divided: between the United States and the Soviet Union, between attachment to tradition and the need of modernization, between memories of historical greatness and prospects of hard economic struggles.

In France the drama of Europe is focused more sharply than elsewhere. While Germany is happy with its astonishing prosperity, and England remains the aristocratic pauper living in a half-furnished mansion, France is considered the sick man of Europe. While other nations have adopted, without reservation, the aims of modern societies, progress through industrialization and the welfare state, France's tradition-loving population has not made up its mind as to how much of technical progress it wants to swallow. In other nations the social engineers run the show, making of the intellectuals the displaced persons of the mid-century; in France, as Maurice Duverger writes, "the proportion of the intellectuals, negligible on the electoral level . . . increases progressively among the nation's leaders." A conservative population and a restless, often revolutionary, always influential intelligentsia: this in itself is an anomaly in the twentieth century.

The thesis that Alexander Werth's new book, *France 1940-1955* (Holt. $6.), tries to demonstrate is that "the battle between the lively and brilliant intelligence of the French intellectual and technical elite, and the colonialist diehards and the unintelligent part of the *patronat*" will have to be won by the former if France is to survive as a great nation. But is the picture not more complicated than that?

The French intelligentsia, whose point of view Mr. Werth makes his own, does not form a compact

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phalanx—far from it. The anti-Communist Left itself ranges from Malraux to Mauriac and the *Catholiques de gauche,* and quite recently even Sartre's name has been added to the list. Their ideological commitments and metamorphoses, and the solutions they propose to the problems of France, cannot be reduced to a common denominator. On the other hand, while many among them flirt with with the experts on economic questions, as a whole they distrust the interference in political life of "technicians devoid of political consciousness." The frame of mind of the leftist intellectuals, by and large, is still that of the Romantics who, since 1830, have considered themselves indispensable collaborators in the civilizing mission of France, but who never had a clear-cut political and social program. When, in 1954, Mendès-France, the man who seemed to be closest to them, proposed to translate their utopia into reality, not a few were upset by the presence, behind the Prime Minister, of a team of cool and swiftly acting economic advisers. The idea that (as *L'Express* put it at the time) "the State's primary duty is to provide full employment, and [that] therefore it must regulate the economy," met with resistance in many circles.

The left-wing intelligentsia insists, of course, that the French economy be modernized at the expense of old privileges, unenlightened capitalism, and the whole intricate system of protectionism of which the four million small, tax-free distillers (*bouilleurs de crû*) are such glaring examples. It is clear, nevertheless, that such basic reforms would not be introduced in a vacuum. The changes would affect a way of life whose methods are often grotesquely awkward, yet cherished by the whole nation. That the "system," as it is scornfully referred to, breeds indolence and injustice cannot be denied; a case in point has been the housing situation on which Abbé Pierre's day-by-day heroism has recently focused the world's attention. Yet, on the other hand, there is the already mentioned fear of government interference and the inevitably following welfare state, scrapping, in the interest of rationalized production, the small, family-controlled enterprise which characterizes almost half of the country's industrial landscape.

Thus the picture which emerges from a study of the French situation does not exactly correspond to the appearances. What some call stagnation and *immobilisme* is, actually, not the sign of hesitation and chaos, but a state of such a complete equilibrium that surface storms, while occasioning sound and fury, do not appreciably disturb the deeper layers. For one thing, there is the corps of civil servants which effectively cushions the successive political shocks, be they produced by Popular Front governments, Vichy, or Mendès-France; in this respect, Tocqueville's words still apply: "Although in each successive revolution the administration was, so to speak, decapitated, its body survived intact and active. The same duties were performed by the same civil servants, whose political experience kept the nation on an even keel through the worst political storms." For another thing, there is the bourgeoisie, the ubiquitous *classe moyenne,* which, even after the cataclysms of World War II, consists of a large variety of solid groups, from skilled workers to university professors. These groups find a common platform in their inertia: social conformism, indifference to politics, love of stability and attachment to the values of Western civilization.

These two, a securely entrenched civil service and a large middle class with roots in the peasantry, are the factors which guarantee that crises and revolutions do not ruin the machinery of the state. It is true, on the other hand, that this phalanx of conservatism exasperates the more dynamic elements of the nation, as indicated by the impatience manifested by Mr. Werth's "intellectual and technical elite" with the mechanism of slow, gradual change, piecemeal reforms, and unspectacular improvements. The resulting conflict is at the origin of an undefined but emotionally strong bond that developed between the intellectuals who work out the ideologies and the masses who fight for them on the barricades. The revolutions of the nineteenth century, and much that has happened since, cannot be seen in their proper light unless this collaboration of street and study-room is understood.

IF WE NOW turn our attention to the fifteen-year period covered by Mr. Werth's volume, we have a key which opens the door of the French enigma: the continuity of classes and interest groups, and thus the permanence of their conflicts along a remarkably clear dividing line.

Consider the domestic scene first. Here the most important single phenomenon of the postwar era is the return of the Right as a political force. From the street riots of February 1934, through the Popular Front, to the Resistance movement, the power and prestige of the Left were uncontested. During the war even General de Gaulle, an earlier admirer of Maurras, seemed to adopt the Leftist cause and terminology; his radio speeches were vehement indictments not only of Vichy, but also of the social policy of the Third Republic, and went so far as to suggest that "while the French nation unites for victory, it also assembles for a revolution." Meanwhile, in occupied France, the clandestine leadership of the Socialist Party demanded complete postwar socialization after a two-year transition period under the General's direction. The Communist stand concerning the future was, of course, even less equivocal.

When the Liberation came, therefore, the traditional Right found itself entirely discredited. With its leaders

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awaiting trial or otherwise in eclipse, the Right seemed destined to carry the burden of responsibility for Vichy for decades to come. Under these circumstances the M.R.P., a new Catholic party of the Center, became the shelter for the *bien pensants,* with the result that, although founded in the spirit of Marc Sangnier's *Sillon* movement, it began to adopt a conservative orientation. Then in 1947 de Gaulle formed his "supranational" Rally; this was interpreted in many quarters as the end of cooperation with the Communists. Encouraged by the dissolution of M.R.P.-Socialist-Communist *tripartisme,* still others came out of their political hiding, attracted by certain slogans and attitudes that, in the General's party, seemed to recall the days of Vichy.

Pétainism, however, was not revived, and de Gaulle's R.P.F. soon split into factions. Yet the balance of power among parties was restored by 1948. Once again, Left and Right occupied their traditional positions in Parliament and in the nation's life. Once again the observer could say: *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose!*

IF WE NOW consider the same period from the point of view of external relations, we realize that what characterized France's attitude was a continued search for a global balance. This was, of course, quite natural in view of the apprehension that postwar Europe, impoverished and weakened, might become an easily manipulated pawn on the chessboard of international power politics. The principal aim became, therefore, independence of ideals and of action, although this purpose was not always evident, as the means to preserve it were often devious and difficult to interpret.

In this respect even the Vichy interlude must be regarded as the struggle of two tendencies. The one, led by outright traitors like Déat, Doriot and the so-called *synarchie* of brilliant but tough and calculating "managers," the other by certain more thoughtful elements around the Marshal who played for time and tried to outsmart the forces of occupation. While Déat spoke cynically about France becoming "Germany's vegetable garden and Luna Park," and the Young Turks were banqueting with Ambassador Abetz in Paris, Laval, no democrat himself, embarked upon the dangerous game of inch-by-inch bargaining with the Germans, hoping to secure for France "a quiet little place" in the German-dominated future. Naturally, neither the one nor the other group was to succeed, yet their internal quarrels exasperated the Nazis, whose fist-on-the-table policy proved often embarrassing even to themselves. As far as Laval is concerned, in 1935 this intuitive politician already understood that France, no longer a great power, must launch a policy of friendly cooperation with the other continental powers. This was, of course, a complete reversal, after three hundred years, of Richelieu's basic strategy; actually, it was to be taken up, in a different context, by men like Schuman and Bidault with their plans toward a European integration.

Quite logically, the insistence on European cooperation was also the expression of a deep desire for neutrality in the Cold War. Here again, one detects the hope to steer clear of irreversible commitments. At the time the concept of neutrality was construed even by many Francophiles as an aggressive and unrealistic anti-Americanism, as an outright flirtation with the Soviets. But this interpretation will not stand serious examination.

After 1945 France found itself in a position of dependence on American aid. This dependence became even more manifest after 1947 when the Russian threat obliged the country to rebuild its European defenses at a time when the war in Indochina had just begun. Under these circustances the task of successive governments was threefold: to assure the United States that France, despite its strong Communist Party, meant to fight Communism, in Europe as well as in Asia; to continue receiving economic and military aid; and yet to moderate American insistence on building up and rearming Germany as the best defense line of the free world.

In German rearmament the French saw not only a threat to themselves, but also the danger of scaring Russia into an act of aggression against Western Europe, with the outbreak of World War III as a consequence. The general line of French policy was again to play for time. By dodging such issues as the European Defense Community and German rearmament, even by the obstinate insistence on mediating between the two blocs, France played no small part in preventing a general conflagration.

The preservation of equilibrium, then, domestic, European and international, is the contribution of France to our mid-century world. France's effort in this direction stems from a profound understanding of human motives, and from the necessities of the nation's new, weakened position. It is the expression of wisdom, the kind of wisdom that is the power of the powerless. It should surely not be scorned in the era of the hydrogen bomb.

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THE OUTSTRETCHED HAND

WHAT IS THE proper attitude of Christians toward Communists? The answer of course is to be found in the New Testament and in the penny catechism. The most important thing the Church has to tell the Communist is that he too, like all men, is a child of God. Whatever the personal feelings of individual Christians or their bitterness, the Christ in the Church prays: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do."

Here are simple Gospel truths, but in the daily conflicts of the Cold War it is easy to lose sight of them. It is easy enough for even Christian men, seeing the horror of Communism in action, to give up their own belief in what it means to be a man. Still, unless Christian men hold fast to their faith in the dignity of all men, we are lost. Who, if not the Church, will tell the Communist that God loves him?

I thought of these things recently when I heard Communist brutality ascribed not to men but to "beasts masquerading as men."

Now this was impassioned rhetoric, not philosophical speculation. One can sympathize with the outraged feelings that provoked it. But to state the conflict between Christianity and Communism in such terms—as a struggle between men and "beasts"—is to miss the whole point of the struggle. To speak of a Communist as a "beast" is to borrow not only the vocabulary but the philosophy of Communism in order to score a rhetorical point.

Maybe because such basic Christian truths as man's dignity, the universal fatherhood of God and the supremacy of charity have become obscured in the passion aroused by Communism's attack on Western values, some Christian men and women—revolted by what they consider a denial of the spirit of the Gospel—go further than they should in offering the hand of friendship and even collaboration to Communists.

I am thinking, among other things, of the organization called the American Forum for Socialist Education which was recently formed. The new group was announced in the New York *Post* under a headline which read: "Communists and Some Leftists Band for 'Socialist Unity' Drive." Among the officers and board members were listed a number of Communists, a larger number of fellow travelers and a group of non-Communist pacifists, including the venerable A. J. Muste, Dorothy Day of the *Catholic Worker* and Milton Mayer. (Not the least of the surprises in this announcement was to find that the editor of the "anarchist," personalist *Catholic Worker* had joined in an effort to improve "socialist education.")

The new organization described its purposes this way: to promote study and serious, untrammeled discussion of the problems of socialism in the U. S. and to bring about eventual socialist unity.

I suppose that each non-Communist who joined in this united front had a different reason. The civil libertarians among them, emphasizing the "untrammeled discussions," may feel that the time is here for communications between Communists and non-Communists. They apparently are of the opinion that the Communists have changed. But anyone who thinks it is possible to collaborate with Communists in the hope of fruitful discussions clearly still has much to learn. For the brutal fact is that the Communists just do not believe in "untrammeled discussions." They are leashed to the Party line, and the only way they can break that leash is by getting out of the Party. As long as the Party teaches that the Truth is the Party and the Party is the Truth, such discussions will be futile at best.

The pacifists in the group, horrified by America's own militarism, may be lured by the Party's current "peace" line. But just as the united-front isolationists got a rude awakening in 1941, so will they when the Communists' present peace-emphasis collides with Soviet interests.

The democratic socialists, it seems to me, have compromised their own cause even more than the others. For if there is one thing the Communists have tried, it is to get their brand of totalitarianism equated with socialist reform in the public mind. As long as the socialists stood firm as critics of the Soviet system the Communists were unsuccessful. But now the distinction American socialists have tried so long and hard to make has been blurred.

And finally the religiously-motivated, like Dorothy Day: they want to reach out the hand of Christian fellowship to the Communists, to give witness to the Gospel of Christ. But is collaboration the way?

The right-wing extremists have always confused the *ism* with the person and poured equal loathing on both. It is no less erroneous, I think, for a Christian to bring about the same confusion by seeming to treat Communism as if it were just another philosophy or political point of view.

In time, I think, all the men of good will who have joined in this ill-starred effort will learn their mistake. In the meantime, they have provided the extremists with an example which will illustrate the ancient argument that the American Left is "soft on Communism." This has not been true, of course. But it will be harder than ever now to say so.

JOHN COGLEY.

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THE SCREEN

WHAT VALUE?

IT WAS INEVITABLE that Robert C. Ruark's novel, *Something of Value,* should be made into a movie. It had violence, sex and a plot set in Africa, with plenty of conflict between and among the whites and blacks. Richard Brooks, who wrote the screenplay and directed the film, toned down the sex, edited the plot and illustrated the violence with graphic realism. As it stands, "Something of Value" is a forceful, though hard-to-take, movie about the war between the whites and the Mau Mau in Kenya.

In telling the story of this conflict, the picture is remarkably fair to both sides, giving the rights and wrongs both of the British in Kenya and the natives who are determined to drive them out. Since violence and a reign of terror are the chief Mau Mau weapons, the film's horrible visuals stress the wrongness of the Mau Mau methods but do not neglect the point that violence breeds violence when the British retaliate. The plot focuses mainly on two young men who are expertly played by Rock Hudson, as the son of a well-established plantation owner (Walter Fitzgerald), and Sidney Poitier, as a native who was raised side by side with him. Their close companionship is heart-warming, but later it becomes a source of heartbreak to them both—when Poitier joins the Mau Mau (taking the oath in stomach-turning initiation rites) and works with the savage natives in slaughtering the whites, while Hudson, with the white settlers, realizes "We're not such a big jump away from being savages ourselves," when he returns from a British slaughter of natives.

In spite of Pandro S. Berman's good production of "Something of Value," mostly photographed in Africa, in black and white (fortunately, since the free-flowing blood would have been too vivid in color) and in spite of the fine cast directed by Brooks (which also includes Dana Wynter as Hudson's wife, Wendy Hiller as his sister, Robert Beatty as her husband, Juano Fernandez as a Mau Mau leader and Poitier's father-in-law), the film is far from satisfactory. It covers too complex a subject, and it depends too often for its effect on cruelty that is almost unbearable to watch. In showing the white man's vengeance and brutality, the film too easily makes one mean overseer (played by Michael Pate) the villain. Obviously "Something of Value" cannot resolve the hatreds and conflicts it displays. There is a touch of hope in the finale, however, when after one more violent scene in which Hudson and Poitier fight it out, Hudson takes dead Poitier's infant son home to raise with his own nephew. Perhaps the future will deal better with these youngsters than the past did with their elders. More soul-searching than anything in the movie is the Basuto proverb which supplies the title: "If a man does away with his traditional way of living and throws away his good customs, he had better first make certain that he has something of value to replace them."

ALSO CONCERNED about the influence of whites on natives is a missionary played by Leo Genn, in "Beyond Mombasa," which takes place farther down the coast of East Africa. But this is a thriller, not to be taken too seriously, about an adventurer (Cornel Wilde) who comes to these parts to join his brother. He hopes to help his brother work a uranium mine, but finds him mysteriously murdered. The brother's partners (Ron Randell and Christopher Lee) turn up as suspects and so do a whole band of Leopard Men. As hard to figure out as the who of the whodunit is why the missionary's attractive niece (Donna Reed) is attracted to the foolish character played by Wilde. Anyway, some of the scenery is interesting, especially after the whole group moves into the hinterland and comes upon a ruined eleventh-century village. It seems extravagant, however, to have wasted these backgrounds on such an inconsequential story.

FOR ALL its dignity and good taste, "Torero!" did not win me to the art of bullfighting. This semi-documentary, handsomely produced by Manuel Barbachano Ponce and directed by Carlos Velo in Mexico, certainly tries hard enough, and as a film it is outstanding as it tells the story of bullfighter Luis Procuna. Procuna plays himself (except in the flashbacks to his poverty-stricken boyhood, when he was learning the techniques of bullfighting). Even after he became a popular hero, life was not easy for Procuna, and his handsome-sad face looks as if it has seen death in the afternoon too often. He admits that his two enemies are the bulls and the crowds; and I found as I watched this intriguing picture that the perplexing question was not whether bullfighting is a cruel sport or an art, but how its audience, cheering and booing so easily, could be so unsportsmanlike? In any case "Torero!" portrays the fickle audience realistically, and the English commentary makes it clear that even after Procuna had been gored often enough and was wealthy enough to afford fear, he had to return to the ring to satisfy his public. On this particular Sunday, the victorious Procuna is carried through the streets and cheered. Safely at home, and relaxing with his family, the bullfighter wonders about next Sunday—how will he come out then? Covering all the glamor and glory and gore of the bullring, "Torero!" manages also to be thoughtful on the subject.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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COMMUNICATIONS

"THE ORGANIZATION MAN"

Philadelphia, Pa.

TO the Editors: It is ironic that Will Herberg's article, "The Organization Man" [Apr. 19], should be coupled with an article on British unionism, "Signs of Life." Ironic because the two subjects are so diverse in premise, one based on lack of individualism in today's large scale organizational structure, the other on the lethargic state of British trade unionism, a lethargy which extends throughout the social and economic roots of England.

William Whyte, in his book *The Organization Man,* decries the lack of individualism, or as Erich Fromm more appropriately described it, "the illusion of individuality," and scorns the "groupism" and "togetherness" which seems to permeate organizational thinking today. But nowhere else can better be shown the effects of this same dry rot disease known as "groupism" than in Great Britain today. Their undiscerning search for security has driven them back into the womb of group thinking and planning known as the ubiquitous "welfare state."

No wonder British trade unionism seems unproposing and forceless! While all of our major unions are strongly dominated and guided by individuals, some of whom seemingly are too heavy-handed at times, English unions are lacking this individual guiding force due to their false inclination towards a feeling of security and protection in the group. Individualism and the individual are decadent and bourgeois according to the security-ridden "welfare state."

Why can't the British, and others, see that individualism is the very antithesis of security? When one seeks new experiences, tries new ideas, and in any way acts unilaterally, he does not, nay, cannot, be seeking security. Unfortunately, British unionism, as an integral part of the welfare state, has been seeking and finding security, conformity, and the protection of the group instead of extending its vision and reaching out with new imagination and creativeness that are concomitant with individualism. It would be far better for British trade unionists, and for that matter, all of Great Britain, to dispose of that regimentation called "togetherness" that stultifies English policy today.

DONALD H. OWEN.

"CHRISTMAS CARDS"

Taguari, Rio Grande de Sul, Brazil.

TO the Editors: I am truly grateful to you for publishing my appeal for holy pictures. Many thanks I must extend to your readers for their generous answer and to Mr. Anthony Robinson for his kindness to have mailed my appeal.

Readers, I should thank all of you in separate letters. But man is not a mere machine. If you only knew how sorely I am overtasked, certainly you would excuse me. I have thirty-two lessons a week, ten of these lessons to a class of fifty-six little ones to prepare them for Latin. The day is well-filled. Immediately after supper begins the correction work of their exercises. At nine o'clock I'm tired, unable to write letters. The next day at 3:45 my day work starts again.

Readers, do not take pity on my age (seventy-five) nor on my deafness (I "hear" the lessons in writing). Although totally deaf, I am the happiest man in the world.

After this explication I only ask you not to be discontent if you do not receive answers by individual note. In one delivery I have received so many packets that I wrote upon the blackboard of the Seminary: "After the lessons I want my fifty-six little donkeys of burden" (my class). I thought: fifty-six, that will do. But not at all. I had to call some twenty more to carry the packets that arrived by *one* mail. How to thank so many benefactors by individual notes?

My seminarists whom you have helped in their vocation by means of your cards and religious articles consider it a duty—and a pleasant one—to remember your intentions gratefully in their prayers and good works and I shall never forget to remember you at the Holy Masses.

(*Rev.*) FREI TEODARDO.

"SCHOOL BUSES"

New Canaan, Conn.

TO the Editors: Mr. Nagle's letter on "School Buses" [May 3] quite correctly points out one of the main reasons for opposition to auxiliary services for parochial school children: non-Catholics are afraid that requests for such services are an opening wedge in a campaign to obtain tax support for parochial schools themselves, in spite of existing state constitutional provisions and laws expressly forbidding such support.

However, there is certainly no reason for non-Catholics "to suspect that Catholics will refuse to acknowledge any fundamental distinction between support of health and welfare services to parochial school children and support of the schools themselves." Whether one looks at the various bus transportation cases, the pronouncements of the bishops and other authorities connected with the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the pamphlets and articles published by the Jesuit America Press, or statements made in the current Connecticut controversy, it will be found that without exception all the arguments by Catholics have been

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based on the fundamental distinction between welfare services and support of the school which the children attend.

It is non-Catholic leaders and the opposition, in and out of court, that have refused to recognize that there *is* such a distinction. To cite a recent instance, the brief for the Stamford-Darien Council of Churches opposing bus service for parochial school children says that "teachers' salaries and school buildings are no different in principle from transportation service." And even Mrs. Meyer, in the speech quoted by Mr. Nagle, after acknowledging "a line of demarcation" between welfare services and "encroachments on separation of Church and state," in the next breath speaks of the granting of public services for parochial school children as requiring modification of state constitutions which "legally prohibit public funds for non-public schools," and classes the request for public services as part of the Catholic leaders' "demands for tax-support of these schools." Such confusing statements scarcely help to clarify matters or make it clear that there is a distinction, and that constitutional prohibitions against support of non-public schools are not prohibitions against welfare services to children attending such schools. (Eleven of the fourteen states authorizing bus service for public and non-public school children on an equal basis have constitutions forbidding support of sectarian schools.)

It would, of course, be untrue to say that there are not many Catholics—and non-Catholics—who think that these mid-nineteenth-century-born state constitutional provisions are discriminatory, and that ideally the government, to be really just and democratic, should also pay for educational benefits (buildings, teachers' salaries, etc.) for all children in the type of school chosen by their taxpaying parents. But that is another question, concerning which there is much disagreement among American Catholics, that is, those that have even considered such a remote possibility.

In any case, it makes no sense to say, as opponents of welfare services do, that although it might be all right to grant bus transportation or health services, these services should not be granted because later on something else might be asked for which it would *not* be all right to grant. Can you imagine carrying on any kind of labor or governmental or private negotiation in that fashion? Fathers would presumably say to their sons: "Sorry, son, I know you need some clothes, and I'd buy you some if it weren't that I'm afraid that if I do, later on you may ask me to buy you something else—perhaps a car—and that I refuse to do." Of course, maybe the son *would* later on ask his father to buy him a car—but that wouldn't mean that the father would have to do it. And by buying the boy some clothes the father certainly isn't committing himself to buying him a car, nor is he consigning himself to the inevitable granting of unlimited demands. Even if there is a certain logic in proceeding from the provision of one kind of benefit to the provision of another kind of benefit, there is no evidence that people are apt to be compelled by considerations of logic to change laws and vote great sums of money for something they don't want.

It must be admitted that some Catholics here and abroad have by their words or actions given American non-Catholics real cause for alarm, just as some non-Catholics here and abroad have given American Catholics real cause for alarm, especially by their championship of the public school as the only democratic type of school, and their deploring of the fact that any child should be sent to any other kind of school. (Shades of totalitarianism and the Oregon law of 1922 which would have forced all parents to send their children to public school under pain of fines and imprisonment.)

Let's face it. There are rabid extremists in both camps, but the vast majority of moderate citizens, Catholic and non-Catholic, can and must discuss these things in a frank and rational manner, and work out just solutions to the various questions, one at a time, without allowing themselves to be stampeded or deflected by irrational outbursts from any quarter.

MARY A. LAFARGE.

One Protestant view of the school bus issue is given in the "Of Note" section below.

THE EDITORS.

OF NOTE

THE SCHOOL BUS ISSUE

WRITING in the Prostestant publication *Christianity and Crisis* (537 West 121st Street, New York 27, N.Y.), Dr. John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary recently discussed the question of school buses and children in the parochial schools. His remarks follow, in full:

Once more the controversy over the use of school buses by parochial school children is in the news. Protestants in general are very much divided on this question, but so far in the current discussion publicity is given only to the Protestant opposition to such use of school buses. This issue is likely to become extremely important when the discussion of Federal aid to education becomes concrete because it is on this issue that Federal aid can be defeated. Protestants on a national scale will have to give much thought to this problem.

One aspect of this problem is neglected by the opponents of this use of school buses: the desire of a

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community which provides school transportation to do so for *all* of its children. Why is this not a natural desire and a right one which should not be denied in the interests of the separation of church and state? The fact that school buses are related to the public school system is a source of some confusion. Why can't this be thought of as being related to the community's provision for its children's transportation without discrimination? As a matter of fact, both the buses and the public schools belong to the whole community, including the parents of the parochial school children. These parents do not need to use the public schools, but why should the use of the buses be denied them?

If school buses do carry parochial school children, this may require more buses and often additional routes and thus add to the expense. But the parents of the parochial school children pay taxes, and the fact that they also pay for the parochial schools in many communities considerably reduces the taxes which other citizens have to pay. In this situation, why is it not reasonable adjustment to the claims of fairness to provide transportation for their children?

The Supreme Court in the Everson Case (1947) even went so far as to compare the provision of transportation for all children to the provision of police protection for all children. It ruled in favor of a New Jersey law which permitted the use of school buses by parochial school children on the ground that this transportation was a benefit to the children. The Court warned against a use of the principle of separation of church and state which would prohibit "New Jersey from extending the general law benefits to all its citizens without regard to their religious belief." The ruling was based upon the principle that the community had a right to serve all of its children in this way even though it did constitute an indirect aid to the parochial schools. It is significant that the opinion of the Supreme Court in most of its argument in this case took an extreme view of the separation of church and state. It spoke of the "wall between church and state" and said that this "wall must be kept high and impregnable." In spite of this position, the Court approved the use of school buses by parochial school children.

It is doubtful if any Protestants would take a negative view of this matter if it were an isolated issue. They see the need of taking a stand here to prevent a whole series of concessions to Roman Catholicism on the school problem. Also, there is a very serious threat to primary and secondary education if encouragement is given to parochial schools, Catholic or Protestant, such that the resources of the community are dissipated in the establishment of many educationally inferior school systems in competition with each other. It would be better if the whole problem of religion in education could be solved under the general umbrella of the public school system, but the strongest opponents of parochial schools are often the very ones who block this.

We are dealing here with an existing condition and also with a human problem affecting many millions of our fellow citizens in what, for good reasons, seems to them to be a matter of simple justice. But because this line is so vulnerable, it is not even good strategy for Protestants and other non-Catholics to be unbending here, to make this the line which they decide to defend in order to avoid having to defend other lines later.

BOOKS

The Main Stream of Modern European Art

MEN AND MONUMENTS. By Janet Flanner. Harper. $5.

By FRANK GETLEIN

JANET FLANNER, or "Genêt," has been the *New Yorker*'s Paris correspondent for more than thirty years. When she took the job Monet was still alive, and in the years of her service, the city of Paris solidified and extended a dominance in art probably unequalled since the heyday of Florence. As this collection of five essays on art subjects appears, the great period of Paris seems over. The art scepter is handled, like a sandlot baseball bat, alternately by Rome and by New York. There is yet to emerge, in either city, anything like the sheer authority resident in Paris during the first half of this century.

Three of the essays deal with the trinity that was either the source or the chief manifestation of that authority: Matisse, Braque and Picasso. Of the remaining two, one describes the career and mind of André Malraux; the other, the least satisfying of the group, details the over-elaborate mechanism by which the Nazis looted the art of Europe and the pitifully small apparatus by which the Allies contrived to return the loot to its owners.

The chief marring note of this last piece is a betrayed irritation with the Nazis for their piracy of Europe and for the hypocritical legalism with which they disguised their stealing as safeguarding. The irritation is certainly understandable, yet its presence—in the form of an unusually heavy-handed irony—is a break in the general tone of Miss Flanner's writing, which is that of committed detachment.

The incredible story she tells shows Hermann Goering as a free enterprise art thief in competition with Alfred Rosenberg's government looting organization, both operating chiefly in Paris but with branches all over the conquered continent. She lists the objects acquired, the sources, and the various, devious manners of acquisition. (The looted art, along with a good deal of the collections of German mu-

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seums, found its way to the famous salt mines of the south.) She then takes up the story of the restoration group, less than a platoon of mostly American architects and museum men of various ranks whose job it was to survey the damage, then locate the loot and arrange for its return and, at all times, to protect the heritage of centuries from the curiosity and souvenir habit of the American army. To accomplish all this the monuments men had no equipment, no transportation and no cooperation. By hitchhiking, by falsely labelling churches and palaces as mined areas, and by an astonishing display of ingenuity and persistence, they got their job done only to find their whole effort undermined by an order from the top for an exhibition of the loot in Washington. While the once again "safeguarded" materials were returned, after an extensive American showing, the enterprise provided the Russians with a precedent for their own looting operation in eastern Europe.

Dealing with Malraux, Miss Flanner confronts an all but legendary figure. The French writer, archeologist and adventurer has made of his career that rare blend of intellectual and man of action that, in this country, only Hemingway approaches. And Hemingway, it must be admitted, does not approach too close. In his and the century's early twenties, Malraux was in the Far East, involved in the Chinese revolution, anticipating by thirty years what seems certain to be the dominant theme of the second half of the century, the emergence of Asia. From this experience and from a related archeological expedition in Ceylon, Malraux produced the series of early novels that established him as an important French writer, *The Conquerors, The Royal Road* and *The Human Condition.*

He next turned up at a similar juncture of thought and action in Civil War Spain, leading an international air squadron and writing *Man's Hope,* of which he also made a film. As the tempo of the century increased, Malraux within a few years was a private in the French army, than a colonel in the Resistance, and emerged astonishingly from the war as a chief lieutenant to de Gaulle. When the Gaullist effort collapsed Malraux turned to the production of a new and controversial theory of art for the age of photography, his "museum without walls."

While Malraux in his novels has created perhaps the most politically aware statement of the "courage in despair" motif that occurs in contemporary literature, Malraux in his life is obviously a man of hope. He never does quite go down with the ship; as each sinks he leaps to another, preferably one already half under water. From Miss Flanner's excellent account of Malraux one suspects that the entire courage in despair motif is a grown-up version of the boyish acceptance of failure in advance as a kind of insurance against disappointment.

The three artists whose lives constitute the heart of the book have created the main stream of European art of this century—so far. There is abundant evidence that the discipline and authority they imposed on their impressionist inheritance have not been passed on.

The great difficulty in writing about any artist, as distinct from writing about his work, is that his life is apt to be pretty dull, consisting largely of days and years spent in applying paint to canvas. As Hollywood knows so well, it is easy enough to abstract a few personal incidents and sensationalize the life, but in so doing you lose the thing you're after, the artist, and end up with a more or less fictional character even if the events are true.

Miss Flanner's account of the big three skates gracefully between these two dangers. She accepts Picasso's string of mistresses as minor but relevant factual material. She gives enough art description to identify what she's talking about and to demonstrate its importance. But above all she does what she sets out to do. She assembles, from sometimes contradicatory, sometimes scanty sources, the facts of the lives. And she captures, brilliantly, the personal flavor of three highly individual souls.

A Sea Change

THE SANDCASTLE. By Iris Murdoch. Viking. $3.95.

By JOHN P. SISK

MISS MURDOCH'S third novel may be the shock to her admirers that O'Neill's *Ah, Wilderness!* was to his. Certainly it is anything but the sort of book one would expect after *The Flight from the Enchanter,* that sparkling and ambiguous harlequinade. Granville Hicks, who has compared her earlier work to *Antic Hay* and *Point Counter Point,* will have trouble finding some Huxley to match her with this time.

The Sandcastle is, on the surface at least, a conventional domestic triangle. Its central figure, Bill Mor, a sensitive and serious middle-aged housemaster at St. Bride's, has long settled into the comfortable ennui of marriage with Nan, whose strongmindedness and lack of sympathy have combined with Mor's own weakness to unman him. Into his life comes a beautiful painter, Rain Carter, who has been commissioned to do a portrait of Demoyte, St. Bride's retired headmaster and Mor's friend. In the presence of this girl Mor begins to enjoy a second spring and decides, against his wife's wishes, to stand for Parliament.

But as his love for Rain develops Mor is caught in a network of lies and subterfuges, into which his teenage children, Donald and Felicity, are drawn when they discover a note he has written to the girl. His life becomes hectic, ecstatic and agonizing, especially after Nan returns unexpectedly from a holiday to find the lovers together. It becomes more frantic when Donald disappears after a near-tragic escapade at school. In this situation Nan, in a bold counter-offensive, announces that Mor has decided to stand for Parliament, a fact he has kept from Rain. This proves to be the lovers' undoing. Rain makes it clear to Mor that their love is a sandcastle in which they cannot live. The dejected Mor returns home to find that Donald has come back.

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The family is back together again. All have, through agony, won some insights about themselves and others and a more satisfactory relationship is at least possible.

Put this way the whole business sounds routine enough, even trite; add the fact that this is a triangle without adultery and one might suspect that Miss Murdoch has either tired of dazzling the few and is now catering to the many or has worked out a hoax that ought to be read as some critics once thought Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* ought to be read. But she is quite serious and is not catering to anyone. If there is less surface sparkle to her style here it is because it was easier for her to sparkle with the distorting mirrors she used in her previous book. The writing in *The Sandcastle* is always good and often brilliant. Nor is there anything trite in her working of this ancient situation. As a matter of fact, simply as a story the novel is quite successful, which some may consider an apostasy of another kind.

I am impressed by Miss Murdoch's subtle and expert handling of character, possibly because in her previous novel characterization quite properly tended to the abstraction and extravagance of caricature and might have been (as fantasy often is) a brilliant attempt to make the most of an inability to create real people. Particularily well done are the truculent and melancholy Demoyte ("he took the view that if a boy could look after his Latin prose his character would look after itself"); the bedeviled Mor, who stumbles out of gray daylight into the mysteries of his own person; his strange and appealing daughter, who attempts to hex Miss Carter with magic ceremonies; and the eccentric and deeply religious Bledyard, St. Bride's art instructor, who speaks hard wisdom to Mor in his extremity ("What has happiness got to do with it? Do you imagine that you, or anyone, has some sort of right to happiness?").

I should mention too that Miss Murdoch likes the people in her novel. Those who fear that she has suffered a complete sea change will be glad to learn that she is still witty and that for all its stylistic differences *The Sandcastle* is really quite close to *The Flight from the Enchanter*, especially in its concern with the isolation and mystery of each man's existence and his passionate need not only to feel real and to feel the reality of others but to love and feel loved. Indeed, at times one feels that the novel is about to burst through its realistic conventions and become what its predecessor was. But this is as it should be, for Mor has left his safe if low-keyed and indecisive world for a frantic fairyland where he comes to believe, as Bledyard puts it to him: "That to live in a state of extremity is necessarily to discover the truth about yourself. What you discover then is violence and emptiness. And of this you make a virtue."

Gothic Convention

SOUND OF A DISTANT HORN. By Sven Stolpe. Translated by George Lamb. Sheed & Ward. $3.95.

By JOHN F. SULLIVAN

BLENDED of curious, somewhat exotic ingredients, *Sound of a Distant Horn* may not appeal very much to the palates of American novel readers. And yet, while it is obviously not a great novel, it has its merits, and it offers a fleeting glimpse of the possibilities of a rather alien novelistic convention.

Since this is the first of the author's novels to be translated into English, a little introduction is in order. Sven Stolpe, born in 1905, is a Swedish historian, novelist, and critic. A convert to Catholicism, he has come a good deal under the spell of France. *Sound of a Distant Horn,* which originally appeared in 1947, is set in the Paris of those immediate post-war years — the years in which existentialism bloomed through frigid winters, the years of the scramble to prove an unimpeachable record of resistance to occupation.

In this novel, Stolpe recounts the spiritual pilgrimage of Edvard Kans-

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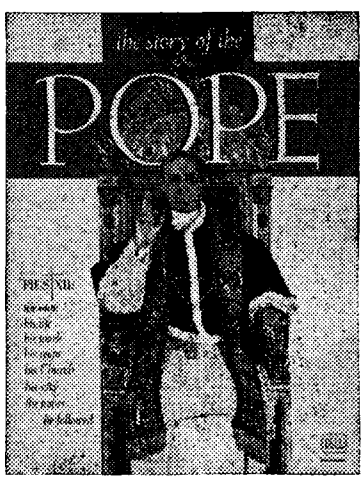

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dorf, a Swedish expatriate who is dying of cancer. The incidents of this pilgrimage are not in themselves very remarkable, nor is the spiritual terrain through which it passes explored with great subtlety. Kansdorf struggles to understand and come to terms with the fact of his wife's death, with what he regards as a subsequent revelation of her infidelity, with conflicting pressures upon his soul. In his struggle, during which he remains perhaps too passive, a number of people come to have an influence on him.

In many ways these characters (not to speak of Kansdorf himself) are stereotypes. They include the materialist Dr. Lebrun, whose brusque exterior hides a considerable heart, and an impressive array of saintly eccentrics. (In one respect, at least, the stereotype of character may provoke a justified resentment; Stolpe has a little too patly contrasted a "worldly" Dominican with an "other-worldly" Benedictine.) But there is vitality in these stereotypes. They have life because they have stories of their own, often seemingly independent of their function in the novel.

There is the desperate story of the Dominican, Father Perezcaballero; the mad story of the unforgettable Abbé Auclair; the sentimental story of the fumbling Dr. Lebrun. And these stories are like Father Perezcaballero's astonishing name, no mere characterizing tag, but sprung straight from some wild realm of the imagination. It is in these somewhat capriciously interrelated stories that the essential virtue of this novel resides.

The French veneer of *Sound of a Distant Horn* is very thin; the underlying substance is Germanic. For this reason, it belongs to a novelistic convention which we who know the novel primarily as an extension of eighteenth century empiricism find very alien. Thus, although the publisher's notice suggests that European critics have done so, it is wrong to compare Stolpe with Graham Greene and François Mauriac. For these writers work in the novelistic tradition familiar to English-speaking readers—a tradition so firmly grounded in the concrete, the individual, as to be almost nominalist. Stolpe, however, belongs to the tradition for which we have no name but the unsatisfactory "Gothic." It is a tradition in which the novel may cooperate with a philosophical idealism.

The point can best be made by comparing Stolpe to writers with whom the English-speaking reader is apt to have familiarity. He is not, like Charles Williams, a writer whose ideas seem expressible only in fantasy. There is perhaps resemblance to Thomas Mann; Stolpe's first novel, *In Death's Waiting Room,* invites comparison with *The Magic Mountain.* But the one writer who comes to mind as Stolpe's close counterpart, whose presence truly haunts the pages of *Sound of a Distant Horn,* is Hans Christian Andersen.

Andersen is, of course, sufficient demonstration that the convention under discussion is not impossibly alien to the English-speaking reader. Existentialism, French local color, and a deeply felt Catholicism are perhaps strange grafts on the essential Andersen stock, but the important point is that it is a basic stock of nobility and strength. If *Sound of a Distant Horn* is otherwise unsatisfactory, it does testify that Stolpe's art is fundamentally sound. It is capable of yielding far better novels than this one.

Excellent Survey

DISCOVERY IN THE JUDEAN DESERT. By Géza Vermès. Desclée, New York-Tournai. $5.

By JOSEPH A. FITZMYER

UNDOUBTEDLY one of the best introductions to the Dead Sea Scrolls, written for the scholar as well as for the educated general reader, which has appeared so far, is *Les Manuscrits du Désert de Juda,* by Father Géza Vermès. Published for the first time in 1953, it was revised and reissued in the following year. The second edition is now offered to English readers under the title, *Discovery in the Judean Desert.*

Father Vermès is a native of Hungary and a priest of the Congregation of Our Lady of Sion. He was fortunate enough to begin his graduate studies in Theology at the time when the first texts from the Qumrân area were published. The director of his doctoral dissertation was Father G. Lambert, S. J., one of the pioneer translators of the Dead Sea Scrolls into French. That dissertation, presented to the Theology Department of the Facultés St.-Albert de Louvain, Eegenhoven, Belgium, served as the basis of his book, *Les Manuscrits du Désert de Juda.* He has also written several articles on various aspects of the Scrolls in learned journals and especially in the *Cahiers Sioniens,* of whose editorial staff he is a member.

No indication is given to the reader, however, that *Discovery in the Judean Desert* is a translation from the French, save for a modest note hidden away on page 123, preceding the English version of the Qumrân texts. "For the translation of the Qumrân documents, I have had before me both the original Hebrew, and also Father Vermès' French translations." But it is only necessary to confront the English and French second edition to be sure that the present book is a translation. As such, it is, in general, competent and well-done; however, a few solecisms occur and the book should have been more carefully proof-read.

The book contains two parts: "Discovery in the Judean Desert" and "The Texts." In the first part, consisting of six chapters, Father Vermès relates the story of the Successive Discoveries in the Desert of Judah, discusses the Dating Problem, sketches the Qumrân Community, proposes his explanation of the Historical Background of the Qumrân Manuscripts, describes the Teacher of Righteousness and gives a brief account of the sect's Search for God. The second part offers a complete translation of the *Habakkuk Commentary,* the *Manual of Discipline,* the *Damascus Document* and a version of some of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* and of part of the *War Scroll.* A few other fragments are also translated.

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One of the merits of Father Vermès' translation of the texts is that the columns and lines are numbered—a feature lacking in the translations of both Burrows and Gaster. This will make his book the one to reach for when desiring to check a reference. Moreover, the author has not been won over by a publisher's horror of footnotes, for which we can be thankful in the present matter. For it is good for the reader, be he scholar or no, to know that he is being presented with "a very difficult passage, and the translation is conjectural." The brief notes are normally not intended for the general reader, but even he should be impressed by the care which the author takes throughout the book to document what he proposes.

A note on the jacket of the book informs us that Father Vermès' book has been "revised and brought up to date as of April 1956." The most significant changes in the text are to be found in the account of the excavations at Qumrân, the inventory of discovered manuscripts, the bibliography, and in the nineteen pages of "Supplementary Notes." The latter section is not found in the first or second French edition and is intended to point out the significance of the texts published in 1954-55. We must admit that this additional section is disappointing. It offers only a few remarks about the bearing of the new texts on some of the problems discussed in the body of the book and partial translations of other columns of the *War Scroll* and the *Thanksgiving Hymns*. It is to be regretted that complete translations of these scrolls could not have been included. Consequently, the publisher's note, declaring that the book has been "brought up to date as of April 1956," is slightly misleading. For all its merits, the book still remains a study based mainly on the texts published prior to 1954. Such a criticism may seem picayune, but the reader should be aware that in the question of the Dead Sea Scrolls a few months are enough to make a position once held as established somewhat antiquated.

We do not mean to imply that the opinions Father Vermès has proposed on various points have since been disproved. As far as this reviewer can judge, the hypotheses advanced in the book are still valid, but the light shed on them since the publication of the *Treasure of the Hidden Scrolls in the Possession of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem) by E. L. Sukenik (1954) and of *Discoveries in the Judean Desert—I, Qumrân Cave I* by D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik (1955) has not been fully utilized in this English edition. The book remains an excellent survey of what we may term the first period of research on the Scrolls.

Discovery in the Judean Desert will not make the list of bestsellers; it is too carefully written to gain such interest. But the reader's interest will not lag, even when the author leads him through the maze of Maccabean and Hasmonean history to establish his position on the historical background of the Qumrân sect. It is a pleasure to recommend to English readers the book which, according to the publisher's note, "has become the standard volume in Europe on the 'Dead Sea Scrolls.'"

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